

manage the new program of human exploration.

The substitute requires an independent report on the changes to NASA's safety, operations, engineering, and management cultures to ensure that these changes meet the requirements of the Columbia Accident Investigation Board and the Nation's expectations of the U.S. space program. It requires NASA and the Departments of Defense and Transportation, each of which plays a key role in managing U.S. space transportation, to report on the state of the U.S. launch industry and to propose how the United States can achieve reliable, affordable, and safe space transportation by 2015. I also call for NASA to report on how the NASA and the United States should be organized to best achieve our broad national goals for space, including the role of industry and international collaboration in the future.

In addition, consistent with the Columbia Accident Investigation Board report, we apply its primary recommendation, to establish independent technical and safety controls over human space flight, to all U.S. organizations conducting human flight in space.

Finally, we call for reports on the Hubble Space Telescope, peer-review assessment of NASA's science programs, and grants to institutions of higher education offering advanced programs in aeronautics and aeronautics-related disciplines. While our legislation attends to the primary matter at hand—the future of human space exploration—it does not ignore the importance of having a balanced program and view of the contributions of space and aeronautics to our economy and society.

Mr. President, our mission to demonstrate humanity's future role in space cannot be founded upon goals without solutions, means that are intangible and unknown, and resources tied to timelines that have no definite end-point or objective. Just this morning, the House VA-HUD Appropriations Subcommittee reduced NASA's FY 2005 appropriation by over \$1 billion, which makes it clear there are many doubts about this program and no consensus on how to move ahead.

The Congress must act now to ensure that our bold visions do not take the place of the hard work of planning, budgeting, and executing programs. Let us not pursue the folly of go-as-you-pay, but substitute a reasoned course of "pay and prove"—as-you-go, harnessing the proper capabilities and assigning the necessary resources to the journey of human exploration needed to make it successful, affordable, and safe.

#### IGNORING THE ENVIRONMENT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, while the Senate is using scarce floor time to debate probably the most anti-environmental judicial nominee this body has

seen, it has blocked any attempts to strengthen environmental and public health protections. Sitting on deck are critical bills to help cut harmful air pollutants, combat climate change, clean up toxic waste sites and protect our natural resources and improve our nuclear security.

In fact, the Republican leadership only begrudgingly conceded six hours of floor time for Senators MCCAIN and LIEBERMAN's Climate Stewardship Act after blocking its consideration during the energy debate. Although the scientific and economic evidence of the toll climate change is and will take on this country, the Senate leadership continues to bury its head in the sand.

That is 6 hours total this Congress for the environment.

No time to consider Senator JEFFORDS's Clean Power Act that would finally require power plants to reduce emissions of toxic air pollutants like mercury. No time to consider the Chemical Security Act that would help ensure chemical plants are prepared for terrorist attacks. No time for the Toxic Cleanup Polluter Pays Renewal Act to reinstate fees paid by oil and chemical companies to cleanup waste sites across the country. No time for the Nuclear Infrastructure Security Act to improve security at over 100 nuclear facilities around the country.

Despite bipartisan support, Republican leadership has also blocked consideration of several bills to improve coastal protections. Of course, they also have failed to bring up any of the appropriations bills to fund our national parks, wildlife refuges and national forests or environmental cleanup programs.

Hundreds of thousands of Americans suffer every year from illnesses linked to emissions from power plants. One-fourth of Americans live within four miles of a Superfund waste site. Shouldn't the Senate be spending time finding solutions to these issues instead of debating a judicial nominee who wants to dismantle many of environmental protections?

Senate Republicans dare to come to the Senate floor to complain that Democrats are obstructionists when we have already confirmed nearly 200 of President Bush's judicial nominees. The Republican leadership has scheduled hundreds of hours for debate on judicial nominations but has allowed only six hours for debate on the critical issues affecting the health of our environment.

Packing the bench is obviously a top priority for this administration. Protecting our natural resources, along with our health, is not. By picking the most extreme judicial nominees, on the environment and other issues, the Bush administration demonstrates that one of its real long-term goals is to roll back these important protections.

CARL D. PERKINS VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT ACT

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I rise today in support of the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Improvement Act of 2004.

I am extremely pleased that this bill was written in a bipartisan fashion. I thank Senator ENZI, Senator GREGG, Senator KENNEDY and their staff members, Scott Fleming, Ilyse Schulman, Kelly Scott, and Jane Oates, for working so hard and so quickly to make this happen. I sincerely hope that we continue in this spirit of bipartisanship as we work together on future legislation coming out of the HELP Committee.

It is an often-overlooked fact that the Perkins program is the largest Federal investments in our Nation's high schools. Over 66 percent of all public high schools have at least one vocational and technical education program and 96 percent of high school students in this country will take at least one vocational or technical course while they are in high school. In New York, this means that over 275,000 high school students benefited from Perkins Act programs last year.

Perkins also plays a key role in postsecondary education. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, nearly 38 percent of all degree-seeking undergraduates are pursuing vocational careers. When I travel throughout New York, I hear about how important career and technical education is for tens of thousands of New Yorkers. Institutions such as the Adirondack Community College and the Culinary Institute of America in the Hudson River Valley and thousands of our Nation's community colleges, skill centers and other postsecondary sub-baccalaureate institutions rely on the Perkins program to help provide vocational and technical courses to students.

Last year, 65 New York community colleges received funding under the Perkins Act, directly benefiting over 200,000 community college students. These schools use the funds to provide career counselors and academic curricula that guide students toward high-wage and high-skill occupations.

The Perkins program is extremely important—not just for the numbers of students it serves but for the communities that benefit from a better prepared workforce as a result of these programs. This is why for the last 2 years I have spearheaded a letter to the Senate Appropriations Committee requesting additional funding for Perkins. I also offered an amendment to the budget resolution in 2003 to protect the Perkins programs from cuts because I was deeply concerned that President Bush's proposal to slash the Perkins program by 25 percent would be reflected in the Senate's budget.

The Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Technical Education Improvement Act of 2004 will go a long way towards strengthening vocational and technical

education in New York and across the country. Among other things, it will provide for comprehensive professional development for career and technical education teachers, increase States' flexibility to meet their unique needs, and align secondary and postsecondary indicators with those established in other programs to ultimately reduce paperwork.

I am particularly pleased that this bill also improves programs and services for women and girls pursuing non-traditional occupations. A few weeks ago at a HELP Committee hearing on vocational education, an inspiring woman from New York, Angela Olszewski, testified about how important it is that we support and encourage women and girls in their pursuit of nontraditional, traditionally "male" careers—in technology, math, science, and the construction and building trades. Unfortunately, women are still significantly underrepresented in these fields. For example, we know that while the number of women carpenters has tripled since 1972, they still only represent 1.7 percent of all carpenters. You can say the same about many other high-skill, high-wage trades.

Many of these skilled trades industries are experiencing a significant labor shortage and experts expect these shortages to get worse over the next two decades as many workers retire. If women were to enter these professions, most of which are unionized and pay a livable paycheck and benefits, women would increase their earnings and standard of living for their families. For example, a journey-level electrician will make over \$1,000,000 more than a typical cashier in a 30-year career. That would go a long way toward putting many women on the road towards self-sufficiency. I want all New York women—and women throughout the country—to have the same opportunities. This bill helps us toward that goal.

I also want to highlight another successful program started in New York called Project Lead the Way. This program builds partnerships among public schools, institutes of higher education, and the private sector to promote pre-engineering and technology courses for middle school and high school students. Project Lead the Way is now a presence in more than 875 schools in 39 States and should serve as an example for career and technical education of the future.

I am very pleased with this legislation; it shows that we are moving in the right direction, tweaking our education policies to better serve our Nation's career and technical students. I look forward to working with my colleagues as this bill goes to conference.

#### ESSAY FROM THE 9/11 FAMILY STEERING COMMITTEE

Mrs. CLINTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following essay be printed in the RECORD on be-

half of Kristen Breitweiser, Patricia Casazza, Mindy Kleinberg and Lorie Van Auken who lost their husbands on September 11, 2001 and became advocates on behalf of their own families and all who were affected by the tragic events of that day.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WHAT IS A CITIZEN TO DO?

How could 19 middle-eastern men simultaneously hijack 4 commercial airplanes in two hours, crash them into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and murder 3000 innocent people?

With the billions spent each year on defense and intelligence, why did our nation do so little in a defensive posture to mitigate the vast devastation that was brought upon us by these 19 men?

Our research began with every agency and every policy that could possibly shed some light on why the tragedy of 9/11 was not averted. With each revelation and each new understanding, our naiveté waned and the challenges loomed large. The problems were systemic in nature. Changes were needed everywhere. Agencies, 20 years after the Cold War had ended, were still operating in a Cold War posture. Terrorists were not watch-listed. FBI computers were antiquated. Intelligence agents and supervisors failed to analyze and investigate creatively, aggressively, and with curiosity. Congress and the Executive Branch failed to properly share their growing National Security concerns and garner the will of the nation to fight this new war against terrorism. The media was more prone to cover scandal than terrorism.

Our research revealed that numerous indicators throughout our intelligence history illustrated the use, or intended use of planes as missiles. We found field reports, case files and studies, eye witness testimony, intelligence community threat matrices, and Department of Defense mock drills all addressing the "planes as missiles" idea.

In fact, during the summer of 2001, President Bush attended the G-8 summit in Genoa Italy where specific protections were put into place to ward against an air attack. Moreover, FBI agents testified in the Embassy bombing trial in NYC during the spring of 2001 that al-Qaeda was interested in suicide hijackers flying planes into buildings—buildings like the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Finally, we learned that the Olympic Games in Atlanta and Salt Lake City had included aerial attacks in their security protocols.

Indeed, most haunting is what we found out about al-Qaeda and their attempt to attack Atlanta, Georgia during the summer Olympics. Because of the heightened protection and alert status during the Atlanta Games, al-Qaeda got "spooked" and called off their planned attack. And thus began the "what ifs?"

What if the pre-9/11 national security apparatus, agencies and institutions had matched themselves with similar alert levels? What if the 19 hijackers on 9/11 noticed that same type of vigilant security, gotten spooked themselves and delayed their attack by days or even months? More potently, would such a delay have given enough time to our Intelligence Community to discover and/or minimize the damage of the plot?

Could the FBI have had enough time to receive the FISA warrant on Zaccharias Moussaoui? After all, the FBI had enough information to meet probable cause for a FISA warrant because French intelligence in August 2001 had handed over a huge file on Moussaoui linking him to terrorist groups.

Moreover, given the fact that Moussaoui was attending the same flight school that the FBI had investigated since 1998 because of the many known middle-eastern terrorists training there, maybe the FBI could have applied for and received a simple criminal warrant.

Perhaps, the internal decision in May 2001 by FISA Court Chief Judge Royce C. Lamberth that had a "chilling effect" on all FBI surveillance and wiretapping of terrorist organizations—including Al-Qaeda cells in the US, during the spring and summer 2001 could have been lifted or at the very least tempered?

Or maybe the hijackers could have been watch-listed and forbidden to fly on commercial flights? What if the airline pilots were told that hijackers were capable of flying commercial airliners and to not allow anyone into the cockpit—whether or not they were in uniform? What if airport security was told to be on the lookout for possible terrorist suspects and/or contraband such as gas masks, mace, pepper spray, guns and/or knives?

Could the NSA have translated the phone conversations or intercepts of the hijackers, Bin Laden, Bin Laden family members, and other Al-Qaeda operatives that they had in their possession throughout the summer and early fall of 2001? Could the NSA have acted on and/or communicated this information to the FBI, CIA, and National Security Council in time?

Perhaps, FBI Agent David Frasca may have had the time to read the Phoenix memorandum and the Moussaoui information both of which were on his desk by August 2001 and put the two files together?

Could the FBI have had the time to find two of the hijackers, Al-Midhar and Al-hazmi, who were already under investigation for two years by the CIA after it had conducted surveillance on a terrorist meeting in Malaysia in January 2000? After all, Al-Midhar and Al-Hazmi were living in San Diego, listed in the phone book, had bank accounts in their own names, trained at flight schools and resided with a known FBI informant?

Could the CIA have found Marwan Al-Shehi? He was Mohammed Atta's roommate and visited the same flight school that Moussaoui was arrested at by the FBI. The CIA had the name "Marwan" and a phone number given to them by the German government. Could they have had the time to follow-up with this information?

Could our National Security Council's Principals who first met on September 4, 2001 had more time to hold a second meeting where they could have discussed the threat spikes and foreign government warnings from Russia, Israel, Germany, and Egypt that Al-Qaeda was planning an imminent and spectacular attack on the domestic US? Would our NSC Principals have had the time to harden our homeland security?

Could NORAD have placed fighter jets on shorter alert status, so that our air defense did not arrive too late like it did on 9/11? Perhaps, with over an hour's worth of notice before the attack on the Pentagon, the F-16's could have arrived on time to protect our Department of Defense.

Could we learn from this tragedy so that it would not be repeated? Could our fellow citizens be willing to shed sunlight onto the inadequacies of our government's ability to defend itself against terrorism? Could our elected officials cease the diversionary tactics of "mudslinging" and "name-calling" long enough to allow the facts to be revealed, examined, and fixed? Could the media no longer fall prey to sensational stories and feed the public information that truly informs and educates them about our nation's ability to fight terrorism?